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Milwaukee's Ethnic Festivals: Creating Ethnic-American Heritage for Urban Ethnic Tourism

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MILWAUKEE'S ETHNIC FESTIVALS: CREATING ETHNIC-AMERICAN HERITAGE FOR URBAN ETHNIC TOURISM

by

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ABSTRACT

MILWAUKEE'S ETHNIC FESTIVALS: CREATING ETHNIC-AMERICAN HERITAGE FOR URBAN ETHNIC TOURISM

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Ethnic identity is dynamic social construction. Ethnic groups define and display their heritage to meet the social, economic, and political interests of the group. Tourism is one outlet for ethnic groups to express their identity while stimulating local economies. Ethnic tourism is becoming more popular in urban settings, as municipal governments attempt to compete for tourism income and establish a unique brand. Placing ethnic tourism within an urban setting creates additional layers of complexity that have the potential to alter the way ethnic groups interact and are perceived by locals and visitors. Tourism involves the construction of expectations through deliberate representation. When the object of expectation is an ethnic or minority group, the creation of symbols to enhance the exotic appeal can have unintended consequences for the performance of ethnicity within urban structures. This paper attempts to document the effects of urban ethnic tourism on the ethnic group that is the subject of tourism by applying a new framework for urban ethnic tourism to the ethnic festivals of Milwaukee, WI.

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IFI	Irish Fest Incorporated
ISF	Indian Summer Festival, Incorporated
MWF	Milwaukee World Festivals, Incorporated

"Our diversity is our strength. This is an ethnic city, a mosaic rich in heritage and tradition contributing immeasurably to the quality of life here."

– Milwaukee Mayor Henry Maier, 1981

INTRODUCTION

Every summer, the city of Milwaukee ends its long hibernation, and fills city streets, parks, and festival grounds with a myriad of sights, sounds and smells, almost frenetically defending its claim to the title, "City of Festivals" before the cold weather returns in late fall. The main festival grounds hosts ethnic themed festivals almost every weekend, filled with displays of ethnic-themed wares, boasting "traditional" or "authentic" origins, and food that is both familiar and exotic. Each festival ends with a fireworks display, all claiming to be the most elaborate. But who decides what is "traditional" or "authentic"? Who decides which groups represent the diversity of the city?

Creating an ethnic festival involves months – if not years – of planning. Organizers are not only responsible for the logistics, but must also make deliberate choices about what to represent. Ethnic display involves the conscious construction of an ethnic identity, often based on the political and social agendas of the ethnic groups (Bungert, 2001; Conzen, 1989; Heideking, 2001; Smith 2003, Zhu, 2012). Organizers must decide what symbols represent the ethnic heritage that would best serve the ethnic group in the present. This study examines the power to decide, and the power to decide who decides, at the intersections of ethnicity and tourism in the city.

Tourism has become one of the largest industries worldwide. Many cities have turned towards tourism as a way of increasing revenue after the change from a manufacturing base to a service based economy (Boyd, 2000; Florida, 2003; Hoelscher, 1998). Tourism is often portrayed as a no-loss investment, and one way a city can

exemplify the characteristics that make the city unique, and, therefore, relevant in a globalized capitalist economy (Eisinger, 2000; Florida, 2003; Metropolitan Milwaukee Association of Commerce [MMAC], 2013; Zimmerman, 2008). The importance of tourism has led to an abundance of studies on the management of tourism in cities. Missing from the discussion is a body of work that examines the social effects of tourism on cities, especially tourism based on the ethnic heritage of minority groups within the city.

Many cities have branded neighborhoods based on the ethnic heritage of the residents. Celebrating an ethnic heritage is not the same as celebrating an ethnic history. While history attempts to understand and interpret the past, heritage tourism is a deliberate reconstruction and commodification of the past based on the needs of the present (Boyd, 2000; Hoelscher, 1998). Heritage tourism began to boom world-wide after World War II. Ethnic theme parks, such as the Yunnan Ethnic Folk Villages in China, provided a way for minority communities to preserve their heritage and survive economically (Yang & Wall, 2009). Similarly, the Lac du Flambeau band of Chippewa Indians in Wisconsin built and "Indian Bowl" to perform powwows for an increasing number of tourists (Nesper, 2003). In Milwaukee, the Holiday Folk Fair was inaugurated and has since become an annual multicultural festival that has run continuously for 70 years.

Increasingly, cities are creating tourist destinations based not only on cultural heritage, but also on the living ethnic groups residing in the city. Existing research on urban ethnic tourism limits discussions to the neighborhood scale, defined as a neighborhood or place-based tourist activity (Santos & Yan 2008; Santos, Belhassen, &

Caton, 2008). These studies neglect to discuss ethnic tourist activities that take place in shared or negotiated spaces within the city. For example, Milwaukee's ethnic tourism industry has a mixture of place-based and event-based elements. Ethnic neighborhoods and districts have been promoted as tourist destinations, such as the German-American themed Old World Third Street and the revitalized Milwaukee Bronzeville (Boyd, 2000; Hoelscher, 1998). However, much of Milwaukee's ethnic tourism promotion centers on a tradition of ethnic themed festivals that happen in shared spaces throughout the city (Green, 2005; Hintz, 2006; Walker, May 6, 2014).

Ethnic tourism, urban tourism, heritage creation, and festival culture have all been studied as separate phenomena through paradigmatic lenses of individual disciplines. Hospitality and tourism management literature tends to focus on the application of tourist practice and economic and political forces in the tourism industry (Ashworth & Page, 2010; Eisinger, 2000; Judd & Fainstein, 1999; Judd, Winter, Barns, & Stern, 2003; McKercher, Ho, & du Cros, 2004). Ethnic tourist literature from the discipline of anthropology tends to be limited in scope to tourism as an extension of colonialism (Foster, 2013; MacCannell, 1992; Rothman, 2003; Tomaselli, 2012; Van den Berghe, 1994), while tourism research with disciplines such as public policy are much more concerned with the tourist built environment.(Campo & Ryan, 2008; Dicks, 2000) Recent studies published in industry journals, such as *Tourism Management*, have called for an increase in the application of social science research to tourism management literature, which questions the "why" of tourism, social relationships, and long-term social and economic consequences of tourism (Ashworth & Page, 2010).

The purpose of this study is to understand the process of negotiation between stakeholders in urban ethnic tourism that lead to variations in defined and accepted ethnic identity. Of particular interest are the concessions made by ethnic groups in the representation of their culture to meet the expectations of the city's tourist industry, and the role of the city in the creation of ethnic identity for tourism. Conducting research on urban ethnic tourism requires the creation of a model at the metro-region scale. To create the model, I will draw upon frameworks that already exist in ethnic tourism, cultural tourism, urban tourism, tourism management, ethnic festival history, and the sociology of tourism.

This paper is divided into three chapters. The first chapter is a review of literature that defines tourism, and differentiates between urban tourism, ethnic tourism, and heritage tourism, with a discussion current research in urban ethnic tourism and a new framework for understanding urban ethnic tourism. The next chapter is a case study of Milwaukee's urban ethnic tourism. This section places the recent ethnic festivals within historical context of Milwaukee's festival culture, and then dives deeper into the specific actions taken by Irish Fest, Inc. and Indian Summer Festivals, Inc. The final chapter summarizes my findings, and analyzes the case study data through the lens of urban ethnic tourism.

This paper will contribute to the literature on urban tourism by placing urban ethnic tourism as a subset of both urban tourism and ethnic tourism, and by providing a case study of ethnic tourism in a mid-sized American city. It will also provide a framework to begin to discuss urban tourism with a focus on ethnicity. Currently, no consistent framework exists, which is disadvantageous for making comparisons between

case studies. This tool can be used by urban scholars, tourism scholars, and practitioners of urban tourism management.

II. ASSUMPTIONS, DEFINITIONS, AND A MODEL FOR URBAN ETHNIC TOURISM

The act of tourism comprises a conglomerate of individual interactions between visitors, guests, and middlemen (Pearce, 1982). Subtle changes in intent reflect systematic power relationships, and can alter the exchange for all parties involved (Pearce, 1982; Urry, 2002). This has led to an abundance of approaches to the study of tourism. Tourism is also subject to the demands of a fickle and ever-changing market (Ashworth & Page, 2010; Urry, 1999), which has led to new forms of tourism emerging as tourists taste change. Boutique tourism, which caters to specific desires of a sub-set of tourists, such as gastro-tourism, sex tourism, and poverty tourism, has emerged as tourists crave more intimate and authentic experiences (MacCannell, 1992). Urban ethnic tourism is a boutique tourist experience that is a subset of both urban tourism and ethnic tourism. The creating of a tourist experience that requires ethnic groups to be the subject of the tourist gaze has implications for the complex relationships and power structure of ethnic and minority groups within a city. Yet, urban ethnic tourism remains understudied. To date, not published work contains a definition or working model of urban ethnic tourism that can be applied beyond general tourism management. This chapter reviews current literature relevant to the scholarly study of urban ethnic tourism, and attempts to create a working model that can be applied within the social sciences.

Tourism Overview

Tourism lends itself to a breadth of study options because of its importance to urban economies and the illusive nature of differentiating tourism from other service industries (AlSayyad, 2001). Many services and structures within a city, such as concert

venues, changes to the built environment, or historic sites, can function for tourism as well as for local use (Ashworth & Page, 2010). This makes the subject of tourism approachable from many angles, yet difficult to define and measure. There is no one tourist industry. Instead, tourism is a collection of local and multinational industries working collaboratively, although often towards different ends (Judd & Fainstein, 1999; McKercher, Ho, & du Cros, 2004). Tourism stakeholders in any city usually include multi-national hoteliers, restaurant franchisers, local service providers, municipal governments, historical societies and preservationists, and local industry (AlSayyad, 2001; Judd & Fainstein, 1999; McKercher, Ho, & du Cros, 2004). It is therefore important to develop working definitions of the parameters of tourism within any given study.

Tourism literature tends to be vague about defining tourism (Ashworth, ; Pearce, 1983; Urry, 1991). The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) (2014) defines tourism as, "a social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their *usual environment* for *personal* or *business/professional purposes*. These people are called *visitors* (which may be either *tourists* or *excursionists*; residents or non-residents) and tourism has to do with their activities, some of which involve *tourism expenditure*." [emphasis original] (p.1). Tourism is the collection of activities conducted in an area by specific people. However, these activities are not limited to visitors, and not all activities conducted by visitors involve tourism expenditure. In this context, tourism includes purchasing novelties from a museum gift shop, staying in a hotel for a business conference, and driving to a different part of the city to experience the atmosphere without spending a dime.

Tourism in the Social Sciences

John Urry (2002) argues that tourism is defined in relation to its opposite, mainly, work. Urry contends that tourism is an activity constructed through the conscious manipulation of signs and symbols by an industry of professionals. The signs and symbols directly shape the tourist experience, often literally pointing the tourist to the next object of interest or designated area for tourist activities. Signs and signifiers also mark objects or spaces as having significance – be it historic or entertainment. For example, historic districts can be signified by street pavers, replicated gas light street lamps, or public art.

Signs and symbols are reproduced as advertisements by tourism boards, creating a representation of the city for marketing purposes. The key characteristic of tourism for Urry is the anticipation of experiences that occurs before travel. Tourists engage in fantasy while preparing for their travels, imaging a travel narrative based on pre-conceived perceptions of the destination. Each stage of the travel experience is directed by a collective of organizers that together make up the tourist industry. These professionals direct the tourist towards objects of importance at the destination, producing the tourist gaze.

Perspectives on Urban Tourism

Urban tourism a broad set of studies loosely bound by the connection to urban space (Ashworth & Page, 2010; Fainstein & Judd, 1999). Urban tourism theorists concentrate on business travel, cultural tourism, the economic effects of sports venues, or managing tourist crowds that are sometimes larger than the native population (AlSayyad, 2001; Ashworth & Page, 2010; Fainsten & Judd, 1999; van den Berghe, 1994). The

continuity of urban tourism lies in the embeddedness of the tourist interaction in the urban space (Ashworth & Page, 2010). According to Ashworth and Page (2010),

> "…urban tourism is not like other adjectival tourisms. The additional adjectives 'cultural' (including festival or art), 'historic' ('gem') and even 'congress,' 'sporting,' and 'gastronomic'…could all precede 'city tourism' as different clusters of urban features and services are utilized in the service of an array of tourism markets. This diversity lies at the core of the relationship between the city and the tourist…" (3)

Therefore, urban tourism is the study of the activities of principle stakeholders that may or may not occur during tourism interactions and within systems placed in the larger context of the city. It is the transactions or interactions between tourists, the built environment, and the city, including: local residents, municipalities, and multi-national organizations that urban tourism scholars seek to analyze. Fainstein and Gladstone (1999) acknowledge that measuring tourism is usually reduced to changes in local economies. They suggest a using the concept of commodification to measure the change in use of an object from production to consumption to understand the full range of effects of tourism on a city.

The urban tourism model consists of three stakeholders: the tourist, the tourism industry, and cities (Fainstein & Judd, 1999). The tourist produces a demand for an experience that is both familiar and exotic (Fainstein & Judd, 1999; Pearce, 1983). It is this constant dichotomy that drives the urban tourism industry (Pearce, 1983). The tourism industry is the functional team that provides the tourist experience. This includes local and national suppliers, city governments, banks, hotels, and meeting managers (Fainstein & Judd, 1999).

Even though urban tourism is difficult to define, it does have distinct attributes. Ashworth and Page (2010) list four characteristics of urban tourism: selectivity, rapidity, repetition, and capriciousness. Each characteristic explains how a city is consumed by tourists. Selectivity refers to types of activities tourists will consume. Each city has primary and secondary components that create the tourist attractions (Shachar & Noam, 1999). Primary components comprise all of the attractions that create the unique experience of the city. Secondary components are the services offered, which may be unique, but are mostly familiar (Fainstein & Judd, 1999; Shachar & Noam, 1999).

Tourist space in cities is not randomly distributed (Campo & Ryan, 2008); North American urban tourist spaces are constructed, often within what Judd (1999) calls a "tourist bubble." Tourist bubbles are spaces that "envelop the traveler so that he/she only moves inside secured, protected, and normalized environments" (Judd, 1999 p.36). Tourists conduct their activities within the select spaces created by the primary and secondary tourist components (Ashworth & Page, 2010). Tourist bubbles serve two purposes: first, they offer a level of security to the tourist. Second, they contain the tourists and tourism activities, preserving and protecting the rest of the city from the damaging effects of mass tourism (Pearce, 1983; Stein, 2001). This is especially of concern in cities with delicate historic spaces or public art, such as frescos or ancient ruins, many of which are in danger from exposure to mass tourism crowds (Pearce, 1983).

The second characteristic of urban tourism is rapidity. Rapidity refers to the amount of time tourists spend consuming. Urban tourists rapidly visit sites, attractions, and spaces on their agenda for the city (Ashworth & Page, 2010; Pearce, 1983; Urry,

1999). Once primary components are consumed, it is unlikely the tourist will repeat a visit to the city. Urban tourists less likely to repeat visits locales than non-urban tourists, making "repetition" the third characteristic of urban tourism in Ashworth and Page's (2010) model. Interestingly, the more unique a city's attraction, the less likely a tourist is to revisit (Ashworth & Page, 2010).

Capriciousness is the fourth characteristic of urban tourism defined by Ashworth and Page (2010). The heart of urban tourism is constant negotiation for space, resources, and tourism revenue. Cities engage in relentless competition on regional, national, and global scales (Eisinger, 2000; Florida, 2003; Judd & Fainstein, 1999; Urry, 1999). The capriciousness and lack of repetition among urban tourists means that cities must constantly offer new, unique, and satisfying tourism experience if they wish to expand their tourism portfolio (Urry, 1999).

A key characteristic of urban tourism is the lack of exclusivity of space (Ashworth & Page, 2010). Urban amenities are used by tourists and residents. Tourist activities in urban areas also take place in public spaces. Activities such as "sightseeing" and "taking in the atmosphere" are regularly reported by tourists (Urry, 2002). Spaces that are constructed for tourist activities have often been repurposed to manufacture an experience that is safe, familiar, and exciting for mass tourists (AlSayyad, 2001; Fainstein & Gladstone, 1999; Judd, 1999). Thus, the allocation of space becomes a point of conflict. Municipalities manage tourism through the allocation of zoning, tax levies and subsidies, and through changes to the built environment through urban renewal projects. Many urban tourism scholars focus on the physical changes made to the built

environment for tourism, such as the construction of tourist districts and convention centers (Campo & Ryan, 2008; Eisinger, 2000; Judd, 2003).

The City becomes a stakeholder in urban tourism because it is the city that competes for the tourist market. As John Urry (2002) states, "It is no longer enough for a tourist site to be merely a place of action or of dedicated relaxation. Now it must also distort time and bend space to produce the illusion of an extraordinariness or ecstasy of experience" (85). Postmodern cities need tourism to thrive. Yet, tourism is most effective for cities that already have strong base economies (Ashworth & Page, 2010). The typical modern tourist city will have all of the following components to compete for tourists on a regional and national scale: waterfront development, convention centers, professional sports stadiums, festival malls and entertainment centers, and cultural districts (Judd, Winter, Barnes & Stern, 2003).

Heritage Tourism

Cultural heritage tourism is an important component of urban tourism plans. Cultural tourism in this context relates to the cultural assets of the city--amenities such as festivals, arts centers, sports stadiums, and green spaces--that improve the quality of life for residents and attract visitors. The city takes an active role in the planning and management of cultural tourism assets through constant negotiation with stakeholders. Urban ethnic tourism can be promoted as a cultural tourism asset in cities.

Tourism scholars differentiate between heritage tourism and ethnic tourism (Boyd, 2000; Chhabra, 2003). When used broadly, heritage tourism includes any tourism activities that use spaces, buildings, artifacts, and legacies to create a product or

experience for tourist consumption (Boyd 2000; Poria, Butler & Airey 2003). Heritage tourism is located at the local level. It promotes local history, and is place-based. Chhabra (2003) defines heritage tourism specifically as a local event that combines local traditions, folklore, crafts and activities. The defining characteristic of heritage tourism is nostalgia for a perceived or shared past, which the expectations of the visitor help to define (Chhabra 2003).

In the United States, heritage tourism has a history of being a political action to create display and defend the right to the city (Waldstreicher, 1995). American heritage was created in the antebellum period through ritualized celebration. Mona Ozouf defines two types of public rituals: 1) celebrations of transgression, collective excitement, and release, and 2) celebrations of unity and collective self-expression (Heideking, Fabre, & Dreisbach, 2001 p. 1). Early American festivals contained both types of public rituals in distinctly American forms. Parades displayed iconography that linked the newly-formed country to ancient Greece and Rome (Heideking, Fabre, & Dreisbach, 2001). Mass celebrations for the ratification of the Constitution attempted to, "depict or construct a common history as a progressive liberation movement, an ascending line from Columbus to the Pilgrims and to Independence under the leadership of George Washington" (Heideking, 2001). The printed press circulated iconography and their interpretations throughout the states (Waldstreicher, 1995).

Civic festivals occurred on the local, regional, and national levels. The two national festivals celebrated in early America were Independence Day and Washington's Birthday. The most prominent celebrations were in large cities, such as Philadelphia, New York, and Boston (Ryan, 1989). These festivals served three purposes: 1) unify and

sway public opinion, 2) voice concerns about economic conditions after the recession of 1780, and 3) create a sense of national unity through the depiction of a shared past (Heideking, Fabre, & Dreisbach, 2001; Ryan, 1989; Waldstreicher, 1998).

American's cultural identity began to be challenged with waves of mass immigration in the 1840s and 1850s (Fabre & Heideking, 2001). Immigrants began being excluded from "Native (Anglo) American" celebrations in the 1850s. Elite festivals became private, while immigrant groups held public ethnic festivals (Fabre & Heideking, 2001; Neils Conzen, 1989). By 1858, civic parades became dominated by immigrant participants (Ryan, 1989). Ethnic festivals became a way for immigrants to create an identity as new Americans. Performance included rituals from the "old country" and invented traditions that were distinct to the immigrant group. German Americans, in particular, challenged the idea of assimilation, promoting multiculturalism as a form of American celebration (Neils Conzen, 1989).

Heritage tourism can incorporate ethnic tourism, but not all ethnic tourism qualifies as heritage tourism. The difference is the focus of the tourist gaze. The product, or experience, of ethnic tourism is the exotic other (MacCannell, 1992; Urry, 2002; van den Berghe & Keyes, 1984). Ethnic tourism is often portrayed as exploitative, and related to colonialism (Boyd 2000; van den Berghe, 1994). Heritage tourism involves a reconstruction of some aspects of a common history that defines a region, event, or place. The gaze in heritage tourism is less about the people or the exotic bodies than the customs, traditions, and location. The theoretical distinction is important because it implies differences in power relationships regarding who has control over how the culture is being represented. Both forms of tourism commodify culture, but indigenous cultures

that are often exposed through ethnic tourism are assumed to be less in control of what they can display (Boyd, 2000; Foster, 2013; Poria, Butler, & Airey, 2003; Santos, Belhassen, & Caton, 2008).

In practice, the difference between heritage tourism and ethnic tourism is not always clear. This is especially evident in urban areas. Heritage tourism is often created through the conscious manipulation of the built environment to create an ethnic place (Kenny, 1995; Hoelscher, 1998; Judd & Fainstein, 1999; Campo & Ryan, 2008; Santos, Belhasssen, & Caton, 2008; AlSayyad, 2001; Judd, Winter, Barnes, & Stern, 2003). Heritage tourist spaces include historic districts, reconstructed waterfronts, ethnic neighborhoods, festival grounds, or entire villages. Some aspects of heritage tourism focus specifically on an ethnic group. Ethnicity is then the primary focus of the gaze, but it is represented through broader mechanisms of heritage tourism.

One distinction between ethnic tourism and heritage tourism may be the position of the ethnic other in time. Both heritage tourism and ethnic tourism use reconstructed versions of ethnicity. The reconstructed versions place ethnic identity into a historical vacuum (MacCannell, 1992). For example, living history museums, such as Old World Wisconsin, reconstruct buildings and landscapes to represent the typical living conditions of groups of people during a specific time period. Old World Wisconsin focuses on immigrant groups that settled in Wisconsin during the early 1800s. The museum is staffed by volunteers who dress in period costumes and interact with visitors to create an immersive experience. Each immigrant group has its own village at the museum, allowing visitors to compare historical ethnic practices. It is likely that an in-depth analysis would reveal subtle structuring of ethnic identity in the way each group is

displayed. However, the ethnic person is not the subject of the tourist gaze. Ethnicity in this context serves as a frame for the constructed historical space.

Ethnic Tourism

Ethnic tourism is differentiated by the subject of the tourist gaze and also by the power relationships associated with the gaze. Cultural and ethnic tourism has often had a colonialism bent. Nineteenth and 20th Century World's Fairs often included cultural villages of colonial settlements. Families selected to live in the villages often exemplified exaggerated characteristics of ethnicity, contributing to validations of stereotypes (Wexler, 2000). American tourists invented the road trip to gaze at the old Spanish Missions and dwindling Palomino Indian settlements on the El Camino Road in California during the early 20th Century. The tourists' excursions became an extension of Manifest Destiny, a romanticized view of the conquered lands. The Palomino Indians were expected to become extinct. Tourists celebrated the conquest and mourned what they considered a dying culture (Heideking, Fabre, & Dreisbach, 2001).

Ethnic tourism does not always involve travels to experience indigenous tribes or former colonies. Studies that limit ethnic tourism to global, colonial perspectives neglect the internal ethnic tourism in developed nations. A recent movement in urban ethnic tourism in the United States is the recreation of "Bronzevilles" within cities. The recreated neighborhoods represent the thriving African-American communities that were mostly destroyed through urban renewal practices in the 1950s and 1960s. The recreated Bronzevilles are marketed to middle-class African American tourists (Boyd, 2000).

Van den Berghe and Keyes (1984) identify three components of ethnic tourism: the tourist, the touree, and the middleman. The touree is the ethnic group that creates the performance for the tourist. The key characteristic of the touree is the performance; the touree modifies ritual for gain according to the perception of the tourists' expectations. Van den Berghe and Keyes assert that the presence of the tourists creates the touree, a functional group that represents the authentic while withholding the authentic from the tourist gaze. The tourist is in search of the authentic experience, but their very presence creates the touree. The middleman can be tour companies, private entrepreneurs, or government agencies. In this scenario, the tourist is never able to achieve an authentic experience.

Figure 1: Ethnic Tourism Framework (Van den Berghe & Keys 1984; Yang & Wall 2009)

Van den Berghe and Key's model assumes there was an untouched native; a static ethnic culture that is disrupted by tourism. They see mass tourism as a cause of the homogenization of world cultures, and the dissolution of local economies. Other theorists go further, equating capitalism to metamorphic cannibalism (MacCannell, 1992).

Yang and Wall (2009) take a more positive view of ethnic tourism. They see ethnic tourism as a means for minority and endangered ethnic groups to preserve their culture and educate the mainstream. Staged performances protect the touree community from intrusion into the truly authentic events. Performances, such as ethnic festivals, have also been shown to strengthen a sense of community, increase ethnic pride, and provide an opportunity to share ideas (Smith, 2003).

Yang and Wall (2009) expanded on the framework of van den Berghe and Keyes, and developed a model for the management of ethnic tourism. They list the key stakeholders as governments, ethnic minorities, tourism entrepreneurs, and tourists. Each stakeholder group affects the development of ethnic tourism. Yang and Wall identify four tensions of ethnic tourism that arise with development: state regulation versus autonomy, cultural exoticism versus modernity, economic development versus cultural preservation, and authenticity versus cultural commodification. In this model, the interactions between the tourist and touree are limited to transactions. The middleman is always present, balancing the representation of the ethnic group with the tourist expectations. The stakeholders make decisions to balance tensions within the bounds of their power relationships.

Yang and Wall conducted a mixed-method case study of the Xishuangbann Dai Autonomous Prefecture, located in the Yunnan Province in China. This region is the most ethnically diverse in China, and has a define tourist zone. The difficulty in adapting this model to ethnic tourist experiences in the United States arises from the role of the government as the middleman. In China, the central government runs the tourist industry

and defines the characteristics of ethnic minority groups. Minority groups in China are given little autonomy in the methods and means by which they perform ethnicity.

Authenticity in Ethnic Tourism

The experience of the tourist in ethnic tourism is predicated on the desire of the tourist to experience an authentic culture that is different than their own (MacCannell, 1992; Urry; 2002; Yang, Wall, & Smith, 2008; Smith, 2003; Stein, 2001). This is further complicated by the process of ethnic self-identification in the United States, which allows individuals to choose which ethnic group with which they would prefer to associate (Lackey, 2013). Scholars of tourist studies have debated the possibility of authenticity in tourism, without reaching consensus. While a full discussion of authenticity is outside of the scope of this project, an overview of current topics is relevant to the context of urban ethnic tourism.

Authenticity is generally studied from the point of view of the tourist interaction (Table 1) (Stein, 2001). There are three types of ethnicity displayed in the tourist experience: constructed ethnicity, reconstructed ethnicity, and fluid ethnicity. Constructed ethnicity assumes that there is an original, static ethnic identity that is corrupted by the tourist exchange. The touree is a performer, who separates the authentic from the commercial (MacCannell, 1992; Urry, 2002; van den Berghe & Keyes, 1984). Tourees are entrepreneurs, and modify their behavior to engage in exchange of goods with the tourists (MacCannell, 1992). The ethnic identity that is on display for tourists is created and marketed as a contrast to the dominant cultural group (Stein, 2001). Eventually, the modifications destroy the original ethnic identity (MacCannell, 1992).

Reconstructed ethnicity is based on a constructed ethnicity that has is no longer practiced, and is therefore frozen in time (MacCannell, 1992). Reconstructed ethnicity is considered a product of the postmodern, mass tourism industry. For example, the town of New Glarus in Wisconsin has adopted ethnic Swiss character that has become "more Swiss than Switzerland". The buildings are bound to a strict code of appearance, and the residents perform in Swiss national traditions, whether or not they are of ethnic Swiss heritage (Hoeschleter, 1998). In reconstructed ethnicity, the copy of the thing becomes as real as the thing (AlSayyed, 2001). Reconstructed ethnicity is important for the creation of heritage.

The final version of authenticity of ethnic display is fluid ethnicity. Fluid ethnicity assumes that the ethnic display of tourism is authentic because authenticity does not exist. Ethnicity is dynamic; there is no pure version of ethnicity (Hitchcock, 1999; Lackey, 2013; Santos & Yan, 2008). Ethnic displays for tourists represent current practice of the ethnic group, therefore, they are authentic (Foster, 2013; Hitchcock, 1999; Zhu, 2012).

Table 1: Authenticity of Ethnic Display in the Tourist Experience

Type of Authenticity	Assumption	Effect of Tourism
Constructed	There is an original, static ethnic identity	Tourism corrupts and irrevocably changes ethnic identity; global homogenization
Reconstructed	Authentic no longer exists; ethnicity on display is constructed for display	Heritage on display is trapped in time; the copy replaces the original
Fluid	Ethnicity is constantly evolving; there is no singular or pure version of an ethnic culture	The display for tourism becomes incorporated in contemporary practice of ethnic identity, making it authentic

Another way of defining authenticity is through the motivation of the touree or tourist to participate. Authenticity can vary by the perceived relationship of the tourist to the tourism site. Not all tourists are aware or motivated by the significance of the heritage site. Those who feel they belong to the ethnic or cultural group on display no longer participate in the tourist gaze, but are actively and emotionally involved in the tourism experience (Poria, Butler, & Airey, 2003). Their perceptions and motivations have the potential to change their behavior at the site or event.

Thomas R. Jimenez (2010) categorizes four ethnic identities that tourees and tourists might assume: symbolic, pan-ethnic, resurgent, and affiliative. Symbolic ethnic identity is common in ethnic heritage tourism (Table 2). This is an asserted ethnic identity based on nostalgia and an association with ancestral traditions. Symbolic ethnicity offers assimilated ethnic groups to be a part of a unique social club without losing status gained from assimilation. Both pan-ethnic and resurgent ethnic identities can be either affiliated or ascribed, but usually occur in ethnic groups that have not become assimilated. Pan-ethnic identity is the coalescence of multiple ethnic groups with a similar interest to assert power as a single race. African-American and American Indian or First Nations are all examples of pan-ethnic identities. Resurgent ethnic identity is the embracing of an ethnic identity in response to a social movement. The Chicano movement is an example of resurgent ethnic identity. Affiliated ethnic identity differs from the others in that affiliated ethnics have no biological or historical claim to the ancestry with which they identify. Affiliated ethnic identity is based on knowledge and deep appreciation of a culture. Unlike symbolic ethnics, affiliated ethnics consume and

practice the ethnicity as a part of their everyday lives, even though the ethnicity will never be ascribed to them.

Table 2: Assumed Ethnic Identities

Identity	Ascribed	Motivation	Ethnic Identity a Part of Every-day Life
Symbolic	Sometimes	Chance to be part of unique social group without losing benefits of assimilation; Based on nostalgia	No
Pan-ethnic	Yes	Gaining political or social power by identifying as a race instead of individual ethnic groups; Strength in numbers	Yes
Resurgent	Yes	Embracing an ethnic identity in response to a social movement	Yes
Affiliated	No	Adopting an ethnic identity outside of one's own ethnic heritage based on knowledge and deep appreciation of the culture	Yes

(Adapted from Jimenez, 2010)

Festivals, Parades, and Claiming the Right to the City

In the United States, ethnic and heritage display, including parades and organized festivals, have been historically used as a political action to assert the right to the city (Waldstreicher, 1995). Lefebvre's concept of the right to the city encompasses not only the right to access space within the city, but also the right to construct the city, to possess property within the city, and the legal rights of groups to fully participate (Attoh, 2011; Harvey, 2003). Attoh (2011) argues that the assertion of rights to the city change by generation of inhabitants. While first and second generations fight for political and social

rights, for the third generation, right to the city encompasses the right to maintain cultural identities. Creating an ethnic display in a public location thus becomes a political act; it is a claim to not only to the space, but to the right of the group to possess and strengthen unique heritage.

American heritage was created in the antebellum period through ritualized celebration. Mona Ozouf defines two types of public rituals: 1) celebrations of transgression, collective excitement, and release, and 2) celebrations of unity and collective self-expression (Heideking, Fabre, & Dreisbach, 2001 p. 1). Early American festivals contained both types of public rituals in distinctly American forms. Parades displayed iconography that linked the newly-formed country to ancient Greece and Rome (Heideking, Fabre, & Dreisbach, 2001). Mass celebrations for the ratification of the Constitution attempted to, "depict or construct a common history as a progressive liberation movement, an ascending line from Columbus to the Pilgrims and to Independence under the leadership of George Washington" (Heideking, 2001). The printed press circulated iconography and their interpretations throughout the states (Waldstreicher, 1995).

Civic festivals occurred on the local, regional, and national levels. The two national festivals celebrated in early America were Independence Day and Washington's Birthday. The most prominent celebrations were in large cities, such as Philadelphia, New York, and Boston (Ryan, 1989). These festivals served three purposes: 1) unify and sway public opinion, 2) voice concerns about economic conditions after the recession of 1780, and 3) create a sense of national unity through the depiction of a shared past (Heideking, Fabre, & Dreisbach, 2001; Ryan, 1989; Waldstreicher, 1998).

American's cultural identity began to be challenged with waves of mass immigration in the 1840s and 1850s (Fabre & Heideking, 2001). Immigrants began being excluded from "Native (Anglo) American" celebrations in the 1850s. Elite festivals became private, while immigrant groups held public ethnic festivals (Fabre & Heideking, 2001; Neils Conzen, 1989). By 1858, civic parades became dominated by immigrant participants (Ryan, 1989). Ethnic festivals became a way for immigrants to create an identity as new Americans. Performance included rituals from the "old country" and invented traditions that were distinct to the immigrant group. German Americans, in particular, challenged the idea of assimilation, promoting multiculturalism as a form of American celebration (Neils Conzen, 1989).

Ethnic-themed celebrations and festivals have been occurring in urban centers of the United States since the mid-nineteenth century (Heideking, Fabre, & Dreisbach, 2001). Festivals during this era often resembled political rallies (Heideking, Fabre, & Dreisbach, 2001; Waldstreicher, 1998), and were intended to unite ethnic communities while promoting multiculturalism (Heideking, Fabre, & Dreisbach, 2001; Ryan, 1989; Waldstreicher, 1998). The city of Milwaukee began sponsoring ethnic festivals in the late 19th century to promote acculturation through exposure to the dominant culture (Green, 2005). The tradition of ethnic festivals in Milwaukee may vary from ethnic festivals in other regions. Festivals in the Milwaukee region do use constructed heritage to celebrate shared traditions. However, each festival is specific to an ethnic group, not to a specific place. Also, many of the ethnic festivals represent minority ethnic populations that maintain active community structures outside of the festival grounds. The festivals are a display of active ethnic identities, making the people the subject of the tourist gaze.

Urban Ethnic Tourism: A Framework

Ethnic neighborhoods and events in cities are promoted as safe ways to experience foreign or exotic cultures (Boyd, 2000; Judd & Fainstein, 1999; VISIT Milwaukee, 2013). Research on urban ethnic tourism has been limited to interactions within and between ethnic neighborhoods (Boyd, 2000; Green, 2005; Santos & Yan, 2008; Santos, Belhassen, & Caton, 2008). This narrow focus aligns urban ethnic tourism with ethnic tourism: the touree is an ethnic other that is the subject of the gaze in the tourism interaction (Hitchcock, 1999; Santos, Belhassen, & Caton, 2008). The activities of tourism are confined to an ethnic place that represents ethnic authenticity, usually historically defined by immigrant neighborhood settlement patterns (Green, 2003; Lackey, 2013; Santos & Yan, 2008). Limiting urban ethnic tourism to ethnic tourism framework assumes an authentic ethnic group exists, and ignores the urban setting, which produces unique characteristics in tourist behaviors (Ashworth & Page, 2010).

Urban ethnic tourism differs from ethnic tourism in two important ways. First, the roles of middleman, tourist, and touree are not fixed; they exist as over-lapping roles and spheres of influence. Multiple events and ethnic tourist spaces can be managed within the same metro area (Visit Milwaukee, 2013). A person who is a touree – living in an advertised ethnic neighborhood – is able to participate as a tourist at an ethnic festival, or act as a middle-man, running a hotel or ethnic-themed tours. Second, the three roles of tourist, touree, and middleman are in a constant negotiation for space. Urban tourist spaces are constructed and somewhat detached from the rest of the city, but still accessible to everybody (Eisinger, 2000; Judd, Winter, Barnes, & Stern, 2003). Tourees maintain private spaces within ethnic neighborhoods to which tourists are denied access

(Foster, 2013; MacCannell, 1992; Zhu, 2012). However, much of the tourist-related activity takes place in public or shared spaces that are created not only for tourists, but also to attract the creative class as permanent residents of the city (Florida, 2003).

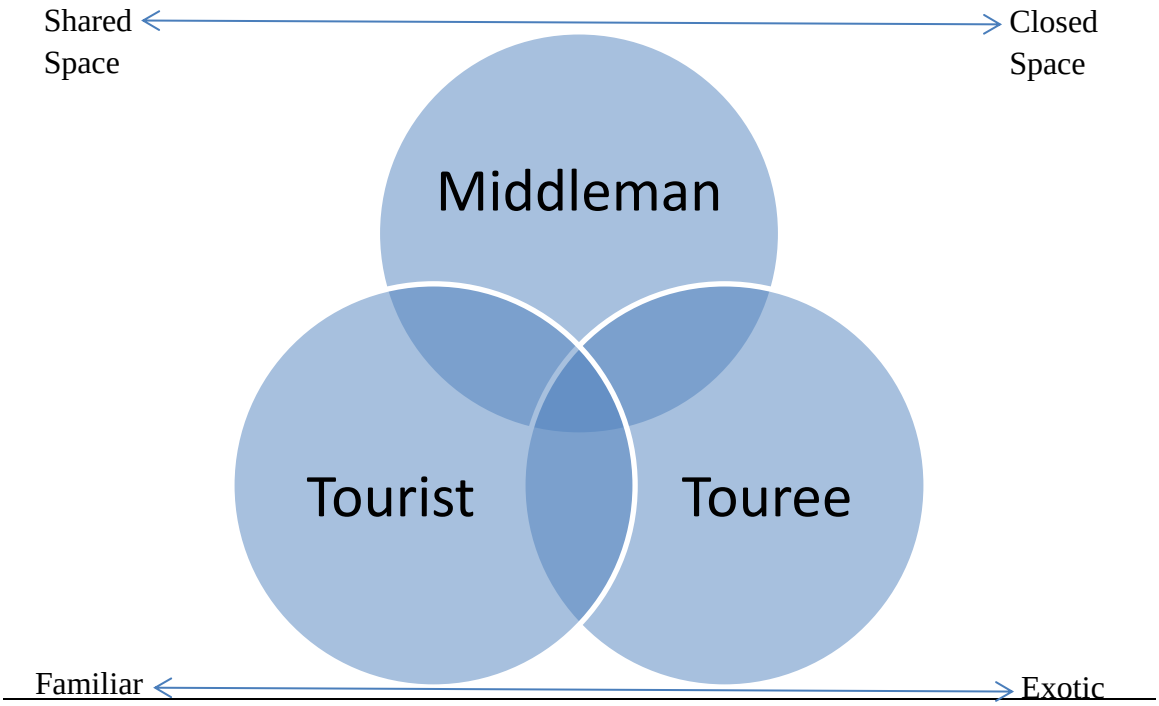

Figure 2: **Urban Ethnic Tourism Framework**

The public space can not only be used for entertainment, but, when accessed by a touree group, can be a place to display ethnicity and exert the right of the group to the city. This model would predict that constant negotiations between the middleman, tourist, and touree in urban ethnic tourism would create the constructive conflict necessary for the allocation of space and for the creation of ethnic heritage representations. It is the negotiated spaces that offer a combination of familiar and exotic experiences and promote interaction between tourist and touree. The display of ethnicity in a shared space is a part of the American tradition of heritage celebration through festive culture.

The negotiations in urban ethnic tourism apply not only to the physical space, but also to the cultural display produced for the tourist by the touree. In ethnic tourism, the presence of the tourist changes the display of ethnicity (Foster, 2013; MacCannell, 1992). The urban ethnic tourism model would predict an increase in the rate of change of ethnic displays to appease the capriciousness of the urban tourist. Touree groups in urban ethnic tourism must respond to the demand of urban tourists for new experiences. At the same time, they preserve and promote their own cultural heritage. Finding the balance creates the need to make conscious choices about which aspects of ethnicity will be on display.

Urban ethnic tourism is a boutique tourism phenomenon that is a subset of both urban tourism and ethnic tourism. Acknowledging the influence of both tourism frameworks allows for a model to be created that incorporates the influence of the tourist and middleman on the ethnic community that is subjected to the tourist gaze and the influence of a tourism industry embedded within the urban environment. The heart of urban ethnic tourism is constant negotiations. It remains to be seen what effect the negotiations have on ethnic traditions within the city.

Research Questions

Ethnicity is increasingly marketed as a tourism experience in cities. Marketing involves the intentional selection of signs, symbols, and signifiers to represent an object of interest. Ethnic tourism, then, involves the conscious construction of ethnicity for a consumer market. This act can have far reaching consequences on ethnic relations and perceived and acted identities within the city. Adopting Urry's (1999) definition of tourism assumes tourists and visitors travel with preconceived notions of the ethnic other. In 1995, Judith Kenny observed, "the prevalence of urban promotional strategies and

'spin-doctored' images suggests the need to explore the marketing of cultural motifs and local histories and means of separating place image from a complex reality." Twenty years later, urban ethnic tourism remains understudied; no literature to date places urban ethnic tourism as a subset of both urban and ethnic tourism, or provides a working framework to understand the structural and power relationships involved in the creation of ethnicity for tourism in an urban space.

Urban tourism inevitably involves the allocation of space. Claims to space—including ownership and use-- are an articulation of power. Stakeholders must determine which ethnic displays can be performed, and what space can be used. To what extent is ethnicity modified to appease the tourist gaze and gain access to space in urban ethnic tourism? Urban ethnic tourism requires a negotiation for control over spaces in the city that shifts changes in power over time. How is the tourist experience of ethnicity different in urban ethnic tourism as compared to rural or cultural heritage tourism? Does urban ethnic tourism perpetuate stereotypes and/or reinforce unequal power relationships within the city? The power to create heritage displays once rested solely with the tourism industry, based on the expectations of the tourist. This eliminated the voice of the ethnic group on display. Does urban ethnic tourism in early 21st Century Milwaukee follow this model, or has the power of display shifted to the ethnic groups creating the display?

III. METHODOLOGY

This study utilizes a case study approach, based on primary source data, to understand the power relationships involved in the creation of an ethnic display directed at the tourist market for Irish Fest and Indian summer Festival in Milwaukee. These festivals were chosen primarily because of the availability of information. Both festivals maintain archived records of meeting minutes and planning notes that are easily accessible to the public. Primary data include archived records of Indian Summer Festivals, Inc., Irish Fest, Inc., and Milwaukee World Festivals, Inc.—the non-profit organizations involved in producing and operating these two annual festivals. Most of the materials in archives consisted of board meeting minutes, newspaper clippings, photographs, and correspondence. Primary source data was supplemented with secondary sources, including newspaper articles not included in the archives, books written about the festivals, and an informal interview and archival tour with the staff at Irish Fest, Inc.

I have limited my examination to the first 10 years of festival history for each fest: 1980-1990 for Irish Fest and 1985-1995 for Indian summer. I focused on the early history to capture the decisions that went into the formation of the festival, assuming after 10 years the decisions would shift primarily to maintenance and management. The records I examined for Milwaukee World Festivals, Inc. spanned a larger time frame, 1965-1989, and were located within the records of the Henry W. Maier Administration. Maier, a 30-year mayor of Milwaukee, is credited for creating the concept of Milwaukee as a city of festivals. I was primarily looking for instances when individuals made decisions about ethnic displays – what would be included, what would not be included, what was omitted from discussion, and what would be the role of the festival in the larger

ethnic community. I was also looking to understand the role that Milwaukee World Festivals, Inc., the tourist industry, and the attendees had on creating expectations and limitations on ethnic displays.

The second reason for choosing to focus on Irish Fest and Indian Summer was to compare the experiences of two groups at different levels of assimilation within the Milwaukee. Irish-Americans may have their ethnicity ascribed, but are generally considered part of the White majority of the city. American Indians represent a pan-ethnic racial minority, whose identity is ascribed. American Indians continue to be considered an ethnic "other" in the United States. Despite the differences, both groups have managed to maintain successful festivals for 30 years.

Milwaukee is an ideal setting for this case study because the city hosts many ethnic-themed festivals year round.. The festivals are a combination of heritage tourism—based on nostalgia—and ethnic tourism—promoting the display of an active ethnic other that exists within the space of the urban metro area. The ethnic festivals help the ethnic groups to preserve their ethnic culture by providing a space to practice ethnic and strengthening the ethnic community while promoting multi-culturalism in the larger metro-area (Conzen, 1989; Heideking, Fabre & Driesbach, 2001; Smith, 2003).

IV. MILWAUKEE CASE STUDY: INDIAN SUMMER FESTIVAL AND IRISH FEST

Milwaukee owes much of its festival culture to the German American immigrants that settled in the areaand began holding ethnic themed festivals in the 1840s. The purpose of the ethnic festivals was to establish the right of German-Americans to a political voice in America, create a sense of unity in the German-American community, and establish a moral code of conduct (Bungert, 2001; Conzen, 1989). German public festivals in Milwaukee became more discrete during the first and second world wars, ceding to multi-ethnic celebrations (Gurda, 1999). The first multi-national festival in Milwaukee was the Bazaar of All Nations in 1896 (Green, 2005). The Milwaukee Midsummer Festival became an annual multi-ethnic festival held at the lakefront between 1933 and 1941 (Gurda, 1999).

Multi-ethnic festivals in Milwaukee were partially supported with public funds because they were touted as a way to speed up the acculturation process (Green, 2005). One effect of cultural tourism is exposure to different ethnic groups. Tourism promotion brings awareness to the history of the group being represented while attracting outside tourists, who may bring their own dimensions of difference (Boyd, 2000; Hoelscher, 1998). The interaction creates change in both groups; interaction and exposure to different groups is necessary for the process of assimilation (Hoelscher, 1998).

Milwaukee Ethnic Tourism

The recent festival culture in Milwaukee began under the charismatic leadership of longstanding Milwaukee mayor Henry W. Maier. Maier saw tourism as a “smokeless industry” (Indian Summer Conference News Draft, 1986). He began promoting festival and cultural tourism in the 1960s, envisioning a German-style beer garden that could

demonstrate the German concept of "Germütlichkeit," or community unity through celebration, in Milwaukee (Gurda, 1999). Maier established Milwaukee World Festivals, Inc. (MWF) to operate the new city-sponsored festival "Summerfest" in 1965 (Gurda, 1999). MWF is an independent, non-profit 501(c)(3) organization. The stated purpose of the organization was to "prompt better communication and understanding between peoples of different ethnic, cultural and national backgrounds through the education of the general public as to their respective histories and social development" (MWF, 1965). MWF was the brain child of Mayor Henry Maier, who wanted Milwaukee to have a multi-day world festival. Maier conceived of the idea of a summer festival in 1962 and campaigned for support. After years of delays, the first Summerfest kicked off in 1968. Early Summerfest lasted 11 days, and took place at various sites throughout the city. The festival incorporated elements of multicultural display. Summerfest morphed into a music festival by 1980, eliminating all multicultural festival activities (Maier, Sep. 17, 1981).

Summerfest became permanently located at the Maier Festival Grounds in the mid-1970s. In 1978, an Italian community group rented space at the festival grounds for a homecoming festival in memorial of the destruction of the "Little Pink Church." Once the center of the Italian community in the Third Ward of Milwaukee, the Little pink Church, or Madonna di Pompeii, was destroyed in 1967 by the Maier administration for the construction of Interstate 794. The Italian community gathering occurred one year after a memorial plaque was placed at the site of the church (Historic Milwaukee, Inc., 2010). The gathering was so successful, it became an annual event, called Festa Italiana (Gurda, 1999). This marked the revival of city endorsed ethnic festivals in Milwaukee.

By the mid-1980s, Milwaukee was host to several ethnic-themed festivals, parades, and street fairs (ISF, Oct. 1, 1985). The largest festivals were held at the lakefront festival grounds: Irish Fest, Festa Italiana, Afro Fest, Mexican Fiesta, Polish Fest, and German Fest. Bastille Days, a French-themed street fair, was held on the city streets of Milwaukee. All festivals had to contract with MWF to use the space. Mayor Maier maintained an affiliation with MWF throughout his tenure. Maier was an active participant in MWF activities from its founding until 1969, when local businesses began withdrawing their support due to Maier's policies on civil rights. After his official role was relinquished, festival organizers continued to seek Maier's approval. If Maier approved of the festival, MWF would help with promotion ("New Fest Welcomed by Maier," September 6, 1986).

MWF remains a quasi-governmental organization. It has a long term lease with the city for operations of the city-owned festival grounds. The Executive Committee includes the Mayor of the city of Milwaukee, the Milwaukee County Executive, and the Governor of Wisconsin. The Summerfest Technical Task Force includes representatives from the Port authority, Milwaukee Police, the Building Inspector, the Health Department, the Department of Public Works, the Mayor's Beautification Committee, the Department of City Development, the Department of Transportation, The Fire Department, and the County Executive's Office (MWF, Feb. 14, 1967). This link between the city government and the MWF often led to confusion about who was in charge of Summerfest. Maier was quick to take praise for successes, and tout the festival as the cornerstone event of the City of Festivals. Any complaints were passed on to the organization and its leaders. (MWF, Feb. 14, 1967; Maier, Oct. 27, 1967).

Ethnicity, Race, and Summerfest

The history and management of Milwaukee's ethnic festivals have to be placed within the context of the racial tensions that exist within the city. Mayor Maier's first Summerfest festival was meant to help residents forget about the race riots that occurred the year before (Gurda, 1999; Johnson, 2008). Racial tensions and heightened inequality continue to plague the city. Milwaukee officially celebrates diversity, yet remains the most segregated city in the United States. Literature suggests this can occur for two reasons: affiliative identity requires dimensions of difference and the presence of the festivals perpetuates differences of ethnic groups (Jimenez, 2010). This can occur because Milwaukeeans celebrate ethnic diversity, not necessarily racial diversity.

Milwaukee is an ethnically diverse and segregated city. A 2012 study identified over 250 distinct ethnic groups within the city (Lackey, 2013). Milwaukee also has a tradition of promoting multiculturalism instead of integration, leading to a delay in mass acculturation (Gurda, 1999; Lackey, 2013). The city neighborhoods grew as ethnic enclaves, many of which persist today through choice (European immigrant communities) and systematic discrimination (African-American and Hispanic communities) (Gurda, 1999; Lackey, 2013). Ethnic neighborhoods can be evidenced in the architecture, such as the Polish Flats found on the south side of Milwaukee, specialty grocery stores, abundance of spoken native languages, and places of worship (Aderman, 1987; Gurda, 1999; Lackey, 2013). Prominent ethnic neighborhoods currently include African-Americans, Greek Americans, Hispanic/Latino, Polish-American, and Hmong.

Heritage tourism in Milwaukee focuses on historical ethnicity, highlighting the achievements and culture of Milwaukee's early immigrant groups. Ethnicity is separated from current racial minority status. Milwaukee is a majority-minority city (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014), and many, but not all, racial groups are represented through festivals and celebrations in the city. Ethnic festivals were considered displays of the ethnic communities in Milwaukee. This was different from the mainstream, or majority cultural community. Many festivals were proposed, but few ever came to fruition. Latin Fest requested space from Milwaukee World Festival in 1981. This was separate from the already operating Mexican Fiesta. The festival committee took no action on the request. Instead, they waited to see if the festival would come together (MWF, Oct. 5, 1981).

Milwaukee advertises itself as a diverse city, and often points to its festivals as proof. The official Milwaukee visitors guide lists a total of 60 major events that are scheduled to occur within the Milwaukee metro area in 2013 (VISIT Milwaukee, 2013). Of these events, 12 are directly related to celebrating or promoting and specific ethnic or racial group (see Table 1). Festivals relating to visible minority groups represent half (6) of the total number of ethnic festivals in Milwaukee, but only 41.1% of the ethnic festival days. Of these festivals, the percent of visible minority group ethnic festivals is reduced to 42.9% of the total festivals, and the number of festival days is reduced to 34.8%. Many smaller festivals are held annually throughout the city, and are usually sponsored by church groups or neighborhood organizations. For example, there are two annual Greek festivals, one sponsored by the congregation of each Greek Orthodox Church. Small festivals are not officially promoted by the City of Milwaukee's Visitor Bureau, and so are excluded from this study.

This case study focuses on two of Milwaukee's most popular festivals: Irish Fest and Indian Summer Festival. Irish Fest and Indian Summer Festival are held multiple days at Henry Maier Festival Park, and have been in operation continuously since the early 1980s. The first Irish Fest was launched in 1981. The fest typically runs for three days in mid-August. The first Indian Summer Festival occurred in 1987. Indian Summer is also three days, and is typically held on the second weekend of September. Each festival includes a mix of cultural performances, food and beverage services, children's activities, a shopping bazaar with traditional and contemporary crafts, a religious ceremony, and a heritage education center. This case study will examine how the touree groups responsible for the festivals negotiated the display of heritage during the first 10 years of each festival. The intention is to understand the dynamic power relationships and the process of urban ethnic tourism production.

Table 3: Ethnic or Racial Based Festivals in the Metro-Milwaukee Area 2013[1]

Festival Name	Location	Number of Days	Ethnic Group and/or Racial Group	Visible Minority?
African World Festival	Henry W. Maier Festival Park	2	African-American/Black	Y
Bastille Days	Street Fair, Eastside of Milwaukee	4	French	N
Festa Italiana	Henry W. Maier Festival Park	4	Italian	N
German Fest	Henry W. Maier Festival Park	4	German	N
Hunting Moon Pow Wow	Potawatomi bingo Casino	3	American Indian	Y
Indian Summer Festival	Henry W. Maier Festival Park	3	American Indian	Y
Indian Summer Festivals Winter Pow Wow	State Fair Park	2	American Indian	Y
Irish Fest	Henry W. Maier Festival Park	4	Irish	N
Juneteenth Day	Martin Luther King Drive	1	African-American	Y
Mexican Fiesta	Henry W. Maier Festival Park	3	Mexican/Latino	Y
Polish Fest	Henry w. Maier Festival Park	3	Polish	N
Scottish Fest/Milwaukee Highland Games	Hart Park	1	Scottish	N

Both festivals represent active, although relatively small, ethnic communities in Milwaukee. The 2013 American Community Survey (ACS) estimates approximately 8% of all Milwaukee County residents identify as ethnically Irish. The American Indian population is much smaller, encompassing a mere 0.6% of the population. The Irish

[1] Arab World Festival is excluded from the list of festivals in 2013. Arab World Festival is a large, cultural festival that typically occurs at Henry W. Maier Festival Park for three days in fall. The festival has been cancelled since 2011 because it had been scheduled at the festival grounds during or immediately after Ramadan. Although ethnic Arabs and most people of Middle-Eastern decent are white, they, and other practitioners of Islam are frequently racialized. Arab World Festival will increase the percent of visible minority festivals at Maier Park to 50% and days to 42.3%. For more information on the racialization of Muslims, see McGinty, A. M, Sziarto, K, & Seymour-Jorn, C. (2012) Researching within and against Islamophobia: A collaboration project with Muslim communities. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 1, 1-22

American population in Milwaukee is economically advantaged when compared to the American Indian population. Approximately 75% of individuals who claim Irish ancestry have at least some college education, and the median household income of $58,584 reflects this. The American Indian population of Milwaukee County has a median household income of $36,085 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013).

The economic differences in the two ethnic groups reflect systems of stratification and racial classification that affected reason for creating an ethnic festival and the ease of festival launch. Irish immigrants faced tremendous discrimination when they arrived in the United States. Irish immigrants were racialized, and often barred from employment and housing opportunities into the 20th century (Roediger, 2005; Stivers, 2000). Yet despite the early struggles, Irish-Americans are now considered racially White, and have been assimilated into mainstream American culture. The organizers of Irish Fest were able to draw upon social and political connections from their high status to garner support for their festival faster than Indian Summer organizers. American Indians were not immigrants by choice; they were instead an occupied and forced ethnic minority (Lackey, 2013). American Indians have yet to obtain White status. Indian Summer Festival represents a community that has been historically disadvantaged, and continues to be considered a visible minority.

Irish Fest

The idea for Irish Fest arose in the late 1970s from local musicians who were looking for a permanent gig for traditional Irish music (Hintz, 2006). Irish Fest, Inc. was founded in 1981 with the purpose of preserving and promoting Irish, Irish American, and Celtic cultures (IFI, 2014). Irish Fest was not the first ethnic festival to be held at the

Henry Maier Festivals Grounds in Milwaukee. Festa Italiana, Mexican Fiesta, and Afro Fest were already part of the established summer festival lineup. The idea for Irish Fest was well received by the local political structure, many of whom self-identified as Irish Americans. County Executive Chris O'Donnell went as far as to change to location of an annual fireworks display to the Hoan Bridge, which is adjacent to the festival grounds, providing festival goers with the best location for viewing the show (Hintz, 2006; Personal Interview, 2014). Irish Fest organizers were also helped by close-knit community of Irish-American social clubs. The Shamrock Club was the primary social club for the Irish-American community during the early 1980s. Founding fest organizers worked closely with the Shamrock Club to find musicians and other performers to fill the stages at the first Irish Fest.

The primary motivation of Irish Fest was economic. The Irish Fest organizers, although part of the ethnic Irish community, took on the role of entrepreneurs. They acted as middlemen, contracting with other tourist industry stakeholders to create travel packages. Middlemen include the National Gallery of Ireland, the National Museum of Ireland, and Tourism Ireland. The government of Ireland is highly involved in the festival in Milwaukee. Representatives from various Irish government agencies have been known to suggest exhibits, provide grants, and sponsor travel for the festival (Hintz, 2006). Irish Fest works with the department of tourism in Ireland to promote the festival. Organizers also partnered with the arts community in Ireland, bringing performers and exhibits directly from Ireland to the festival. They also work with consulates from Ireland to help secure visas for travel to the festival. Early in the festival, organizers secured the help of U.S. Representative Henry Reuss to help with visas in the United States (Hintz, 2006).

Irish Fest organizers were accountable to the Irish-American touree community in Milwaukee for the representation of Irish-American heritage. Festival organizers consciously chose to increase the authenticity of the festival experience and goods that were available onsite (IFI, 1981). In 1983, 80% of the festival marketplace contained Irish-themed items (IFI, Aug 2, 1983). The 1992 festival was attended by the Prime Minister of Ireland, increasing the credibility of the festival (Hintz, 2006).

Irish Fest differs from heritage tourism festivals in that it promotes Irish culture as a constantly changing experience. The conscious choice of a changing and evolving identity reinforces the festival as an ethnic tourist event, not just heritage tourism. Irish fest performs Irish and Irish-American identities. This means that the lineup of the festival is intended to represent current Irish and Irish-American arts, storytelling, music, and dance. Although the mission states the festival is a celebration of all things Irish, Irish-American, and Celtic, Irish Fest, Inc. has deliberately decided to focus on preserving and promoting Irish-American music (Personal Interview, 2014). This focus serves two purposes: it fills a niche in the tourist market, and recognizes that Irish-Americans have a distinct, evolving history and culture that is separate from both Irish and mainstream American identities.

Irish immigrants came to the United States in a mass wave during the mid-1800s due to the ongoing Potato Famine in Ireland. Most immigrants were unskilled and uneducated, having been kept in a state of serfdom in Ireland. It has been hypothesized that this wave of immigrants represents the poorest, most uneducated voluntary mass immigration in American history (Stivers, 2000). Immigrants were actively recruited to work in the new industrialized economy (Roediger, 2005). Irish immigrants were quickly

racialized and discriminated against. The wave of immigration corresponded to the rise of pseudoscience that sought to classify humans in order to justify racial superiority (MacCannell 1992; Roediger, 2005; Stivers, 2000; Wexler, 2000). Irish-Americans were often portrayed as the "missing link" between Africans and apes. The racialization linked physical ethnic traits to personality characteristics (Roediger, 2005). Racial slurs, such as "hooligan," "paddy wagon," and "Irish twins" were added to the lexicon, further enforcing the stereotypes of Irish-Americans as alcoholics, rowdy, uneducated, and lacking self-control (Stivers, 2000). The stereotype persists in current representations. Images of Irish-Americans, such as the fighting leprechaun or red-nosed, inebriated police officer, draw upon the derogatory stereotypes of the late 19th century and persist in current American culture.

Irish Fest organizers have had a tenuous relationship with Irish-American iconography. The mascot for Irish Fest is a leprechaun named Paddy McFest. A life-sized Paddy mascot began appearing in person at the second festival in 1982 (IFI, Dec 11, 1981). Paddy McFest was married to Molly, a woman mascot clothed in traditional 19th century Irish peasant dress, in 1985 (IFI, Dec 11, 1984). Paddy and Molly McFest appear at most Irish Fest functions. Irish Fest organizers have received criticism for promoting symbols, such as the leprechaun and the four leaf clover (Personal Interview, 2014). The perpetuation of the stereotype appears to be at odds with the goals of the organization to promote cultural education of the breadth of Irish-American culture. However, the organizers, acting as middlemen, have to cater to the Irish-American community and to the expectations of the tourists.

Often, it is the touree groups that self-identify as Irish-American through wearing green and displaying the Irish flag and four leaf clovers. Festival organizers have also consciously chosen to embrace the immigrant history of their group, good and bad, that are represented by Irish-American iconography. For example, the first festival advertised a "hoolie" as one of the events (IFI, December 11, 1981). A "hoolie" is a festive gathering that usually takes place at a home (Hoolie, 2009). The term was derived from the slang "hooligan," and is usually associated with Irish-Americans. Festival organizers decided not define the term in the press release (IFI, December 11, 1981).

The battle of the leprechaun highlights the tensions of ethnic tourism of regulation/autonomy, economic development/preservation, cultural exoticism/modernity, and authenticity/cultural commodification discussed by Yang and Wall (2009). Irish Fest is part of the larger festival lineup that Milwaukee was actively promoting in the 1980s as the city's brand. Each festival was invited to participate in public relations events, such as the City of Festivals parade, sponsored by the city of Milwaukee and organized by Milwaukee World Festivals, Inc.

The City of Festivals Parade was a major downtown event from the early 1980s through 1992. Each festival had corporate sponsors to produce floats and various walking troupes to advertise their festival and represent their ethnic group to the larger Milwaukee populace. Irish Fest, Inc. drew from Irish literature to create designs for their float. This emphasized the importance of storytelling in Irish-American culture, and also fulfilled the mission of education about the breadth of Irish traditions. In 1986, Irish Fest organizers were late getting their feedback to Milwaukee World Festivals, Inc. for the float design, resulting in Milwaukee World Festivals, Inc. and corporate sponsor Johnson Controls

designing two floats with a leprechaun theme. Irish Fest received negative feedback from the Irish-American community (IFI, July 1, 1986). In this instance, Irish Fest Inc. was acting as representative of the touree community. They were being regulated by the city and the city's representative, Milwaukee World Festivals, Inc. The city of Milwaukee is a middleman, creating a space and time for the structured presentation of ethnicity to tourists, in the form of a parade—the ultimate form of controlled display and tourist gaze. Milwaukee World Festivals, Inc. created the parameters that each touree group had to adhere to in order to receive the promotional support of the city.

Tourist expectations had influence on the structure of Irish Fest. Irish Fest was not the first festival held at Milwaukee's lakefront. The tourists had an expectation of what an ethnic festival should contain. Festivals were expected to both entertain and enlighten (Steiner, Sept. 2, 1981). Irish Fest was criticized after the first festival for not having full displays in the cultural tent. Milwaukee Journal critic Linda Steiner stated, "Music alone does not make an ethnic festival" (1981). All ethnic festivals were subject to demands of the tourists. Steiner brought to the festival preconceived notions of what an ethnic festival should present. The Irish Fest cultural tent displays were not full on the first night of the fest, although that was rectified the second night. Irish Fest evolved to have the largest cultural display area of all of the ethnic festivals. Major thematic elements of early festivals include music, genealogy, storytelling, dance performance, and Gaelic language preservation (IFI, April 1, 1986). The popularity of the cultural center has created a conflict of economic development for the festival organizers, because the space used for cultural displays limits the space used to generate income (Personal Interview, 2014).

Irish Fest, Inc. was also subject to regulation on the festival grounds. Irish Fest, Inc., along with all the other festivals, had to negotiate with Milwaukee World Festivals, Inc. (MWF) to gain access to the festival park. MWF had strict regulations and guidelines about food and beverage vendor services. Irish Fest petitioned MWF for allowing Irish beer to be served, increasing the perception of cultural authenticity. MWF refused the request, stating that only beer made in Milwaukee could be served on the festival grounds.

Indian Summer Festival

Indian Summer Festival is the third largest annual festival held in Milwaukee, and the largest festival celebrating American Indian heritage in the United States. The festival is organized by Indian Summer Festival, Inc. (ISF), a local non-profit organization founded and run by American Indian residents of Milwaukee. The festival has evolved from a small cultural and arts showcase of mostly Wisconsin nations to a Pan-American celebration of heritage and contemporary American Indian culture. The main draw of the festival continues to be a competitive powwow, which draws dancers and drummers from Indian nations across the country.

Indian Summer Festival serves a dual role. It is meant to educate both American Indians and non-American Indians about American Indian history and traditions. It is also a demonstration of modern American Indian ethnic practices. Early festival organizers agreed that each festival should have three main components: A competitive powwow, cultural programs (including a cultural exhibit area and an American Indian prayer service), and authentic American Indian entertainment (ISF, 1988). The purpose of the

festival was further defined in 1990. A draft of the Indian Summer Festivals Purpose stated:

> The Festival is designed to provide opportunities to educate the general non-Indian population through the following activities:
>
> 1. The production of a competitive inter-tribal pow-wow with approximately 100-200 participants in native dress.
> 2. Providing demonstrations of authenic [sic] American Indian crafts such as basket weaving, bead work, hide tanning, etc.
> 3. Constructing an authenic [sic] 19th century ojibiwa [sic] village.
> 4. Securing and presenting vendors of American Indian crafts and food.
> 5. Providing a forum that encourages the continuation of traditional American Indian arts, culture, and entertainment, e.g., story-telling, flute playing, hoop dancing, etc.
> 6. Providing an opportunity for contemporary American Indian entertainers to share their talents with a new public.
> 7. By setting aside one day to implement an education and cultural awareness program designed specifically for teachers and students of 3rd to 6th grade ("Indian Summer Festivals Purpose Draft," 1990).

ISF was heavily influenced by the established ethnic festivals in Milwaukee. Festival organizers depended on support from each other (ISF, Nov, 20, 1986). Leaders from the different ethnic festivals were quick to share best practices, and offer support and publicity for other festivals (ISF, Oct 1, 1985; ISF, Dec 4, 1986), and formed their

own support organization: United Festivals of Milwaukee, Inc. (ISF, Nov 23, 1985). United Festivals of Milwaukee is a 501(c)(3) organization that acts as a collective bargaining unit for the individual ethnic festivals. United Festivals was pivotal in negotiating equal treatment for all festivals in regards to food and beverage fees charged by Milwaukee World Festivals. In 1985, many of the ethnic festivals faced the possibility of shutting down due to newly imposed liability insurance requirements. Milwaukee World Festivals was required to carry liability insurance because alcohol is served on the grounds. Each ethnic festival is expected to be self-sufficient, and so costs for insurance were passed down. The requirement was increased from $1 million to $5 million in a year. Many festivals were not able to afford the limits imposed by Milwaukee World Festivals. Collectively, United Festivals of Milwaukee was able to negotiate for lower coverages for each festival (ISF, Aug. 15, 1985).

ISF took advantage of the success of the established festivals. The Indian Summer board invited Ed Ward, Director and Founder of Irish Fest, to speak at their first meeting. Ward informed the board that all festivals help each other. Summerfest (Milwaukee World Festival, Inc.) tries to help on an individual basis. Not all festivals receive the same treatment from Summerfest. Irish Fest did not get any breaks (ISF, Oct. 1, 1985). ISF decided to model their bylaws after the Irish Fest bylaws (ISF, Nov. 14, 1985). ISF took on the organizational structure of Irish Fest. They created committees dedicated to different facets of the festival that reported to the board of directors. The committee that had the greatest impact on actively defining heritage was the cultural committee.

One of the most important decisions ISF made was to refer to their heritage as ‘‘American Indian’ (ISF, Feb 18, 1990). The ISF board specifically chose to use

American Indian instead of Native American Indian, Native American or First Nations in their literature. There is no reason given for the decision, however it was decided by the original board in 1987, and again in 1990, when discussing fund-raising literature.

Emphasizing the "American" portion of the group identity is similar to the tactics chosen by immigrants in the 19th and 20th century. German-Americans wanted to identify as a group that is both separate from the dominant Anglo-culture and the people living in Germany (Bungert, 2001). American Indian culture underwent a revival in the 1960s and 1970s, known collectively as the "Red Power" movement (Krouse, 2003; Walker, 2011). According to William S. Walker, "American Indian leaders, scholars, and communities embraced the social and political goal of self-determination at the same time as they embarked on cultural renewal and revitalization projects…Over time, particular tribes, cultural organizations, and individuals were able to construct powerful narratives of Native history and culture that challenged dominant representations at institutions such as the Smithsonian" (Walker, 2011, p.5). Although not affiliated with action groups such as American Indian Movement (AIM), ISF was able to borrow from the heritage that had already been defined by the movement.

Defining the group as American Indian was also an indicator of who would not be represented by the Indian Summer Festival. Early in the planning process, the organizers of Mexican Fiesta, which was struggling to survive, offered to combine festivals. This would have created a Pan-American festival. ISF rejected the offer (ISF, Feb. 13, 1986).

American Indian culture is diverse. A 1969 study of Native Americans counted 315 distinct tribal communities in the United States (Walker, 2011). There are eleven

federally recognized American Indian Settlements in Wisconsin (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2013). Historic Milwaukee was home to the Winnebago nation at the time of first contact with French fur traders in the 1600s. By 1768, the Potawatomi had moved into the area as part of a great migration of nations escaping the Iroquois in the eastern United States. Potawatomi controlled the Milwaukee region until the 1830s, when they were forcibly relocated to northern Wisconsin (Gurda, 1999). The founding ISF board represented three tribes: Oneida, Chippewa, and Stockbridge-Muncie (ISF, Nov. 1, 1985). The task of ISF was to create a festival that represents American Indian heritage as united and diverse.

One of the ways ISF accomplished this goal was by designating a "Host" and a "Guest" tribe for each festival. The host tribe was chosen from within Wisconsin. The guest tribe could be from out of state. The host tribe had the honor of their unique culture being highlighted at the festival. They were also expected to contribute financially to the operations. A cultural committee was formed to decide upon the first host and guest designations. The report stated, "The host tribe should be a tribe that puts on the best tribal celebration in the state and I feel that this would be the Oneida tribe." An unknown board member followed the statement with a simple, handwritten reaction "?!!!?" (ISF, July 14, 1986).The Oneida tribe turned down the honor of hosting the first Indian Summer Festival. They were not ready to invest in the new festival (ISF, Feb. 21, 1987).

The heritage displays created for Indian Summer Festival strongly represented the time period just prior to Americanization. By 1992, the festival included living history village displays from the Lac Du Flambeau, Oneida, Menomonee, Sioux, and Potawatomi and Winnebago tribes. Vendors were restricted to selling goods that were

made on the festival grounds. The cultural areas also included space for "White Cousins"—French fur traders (ISF, July 15, 1992). Other festival events expanded the historical American Indian Story. A "fun run/walk" in the early festivals ended at pre-American Indian effigy mounds at Lake Park (ISF, Oct. 17, 1985). The annual run has now been reorganized as a fundraiser for Autism (ISF, 2013).

The evolving nature of American Indian heritage was displayed through the entertainment schedule. The entertainment schedule mixed traditional presentations with national artists, including a popular "Country Music Night" (Lakeshore Advertising and Design, 1994). Performers were carefully screened by the cultural and entertainment committees. The comedian Charlie Hill was asked not to perform after local radio talk shows protested his act as "controversial" (ISF, July 16, 1988). In 1990, the committee had a "long discussion" on whether or not to include Aztec Dancers (ISF, July 18, 1990). Including the group would expand the heritage towards Pan-American. Eventually, the group was allowed to perform, and has become a major draw at the festival.

Another major challenge ISF faced was creating a balance between sacred and commercial. This was especially evident in the main event of the festival, the competitive powwow. Each year, the powwow draws around 200 dancers from all over the country (ISF Publicity Press Kit, 2007). Competitive powwows are intertribal events. Although each event may have local customs, most operate with versions of established rules (DesJarlait, 1997; Nesper, 2003; Ellis & Lassiter, 2005). Traditional etiquette for hosting a powwow includes paying the dancers, feeding the dancers and drummers three meals for each day they are performing, and keeping the event space alcohol free (ISF, Dec. 4, 1986).

The powwow created specific challenges for celebrating heritage and earning a profit. Powwows are both sacred events and social gatherings. Robert DesJarlait explains that the powwow, "connects us to our ancestors, for whom dance was the expression of their soul-spirits made visible and whose traditions teach us that dance extends beyond one's life to the Spirit World, where the *chee-jauk* (soul-spirits) of all our relatives are made visible by the shimmering lights of their auras as they dance in the northern night skies" (DesJarlait, 1997, p.115). Powwows are also a community-building social event. Sometimes, a dance is held just for fun (Ellis & Lassiter, 2005). Regardless of the purpose of the powwow, the dance area at the festival had to be an alcohol free zone. Unfortunately, beer and wine sales were the primary sources of revenue at ethnic festivals (ISF, Oct. 1, 1985). ISF had to reduce potential profit to accommodate sacred space demanded of heritage.

Holding powwows specifically for economic gain from tourism has been part of American Indian practice in Wisconsin since 1908 (Arndt, 2005). The Ho-Chunk Nation[2] in the Wisconsin Dells area became an accidental tourist attraction when they noticed white settlers watching their community powwows. They began charging admission, initially as a tactic to stem the number of gawkers. By the 1920s, the powwow performances had become an important revenue stream for the tribe (Arndt, 2005).

Tourist powwows were also performed by the Lac du Flambeau tribe in Wisconsin's north woods. The Wa-Swa-Gon Indian Bowl was an arena built in 1951 for the purpose of cultural displays as a mechanism for gaining tourist dollars. It also served

[2] Ho-Chunk Nation is one of the few American Indian groups able to hold ceremonies on their traditional lands. Instead of being moved to a reservation, leaders bought the land outright with a land grant. The white settlers that moved in were genuine neighbors.

as a statement affirming the rights of the tribe to practice their culture at a time when children were punished for speaking a native language in school. The powwows were a true show; George Brown played "Chief Big Wind," a self-parody that "approximated what they thought the non-Indians thought of them" (Nesper, 2003, p.458). The Wa-Swa-Gon Indian Bowl shows lasted until the mid-1970s, when the facility was converted to a community center (Nesper, 2003).

The Indian Summer powwow had to adapt to meet the anticipation of the tourists in the Milwaukee area. By the ten year anniversary of the first fest, Indian Summer Festival had become one of the most successful ethnic-themed festivals in Milwaukee, and the largest festival celebrating Native American heritage in the United States (ISF, 2007). A 1998 study commissioned by ISF found that more attendees self-identified as ethnic Germans than ethnic American Indians (ISF, Nov. 2, 1988). ISF included non-Indians by opening up a portion of the powwow to all attendees, and adding a "Country Music Night," which proved popular with Indian and non-Indian festival goers (ISF, 2007).

The issue of opening up participation in powwows has been debated within the American Indian community since the rise of the New Age Movement in the 1960s and 1970s. Generally, American Indians have embraced non-Indians who wish to participate in powwows. The rise of the New Age Movement brought outsiders with pre-conceived notions of powwows into the dance arenas. As in Indian Summer powwow, outsiders were welcome, as long as they respect the rules of the dance (Aldred, 2005).

Milwaukee's Ethnic Festivals as Urban Ethnic Tourism

Ethnic tourism and urban tourism frameworks provide insights, but do not fully explain the process of negotiating ethnic display for tourism in an urban environment. Thus, it is necessary to analyze the festivals as urban ethnic tourism events. The case study shows organizers for Milwaukee's ethnic festivals participated in the roles of tourist, touree, and middleman during the first 10 years of the festival history. This differs from previous studies of ethnic tourism in which all roles are clearly defined by existing layers of stratification and presumed to be exclusionary. For example, founding members of Indian Summer Festival and Irish Fest self-identified with the ethnic group that was being represented. The individuals had a desire to participate in heritage and ethnic tourism activities that were already in place by creating festivals that display their ethnic heritage. Each organization had to gain access to the festival grounds through intermediary organizations—the City of Milwaukee and Milwaukee World Festivals, Inc. After access was granted, ISF and IFI became the middlemen negotiating heritage display between the touree group they represent and the tourist expectations. Members of both ethnic groups could, and often did, participate as tourists at other ethnic festivals, bringing their own preconceived expectations and judgments.

Table 4: Conflicts and Resolutions

Irish Fest	Indian Summer Festival
• Primary motivation was economic • Symbolic and affiliative ethnic identity • Decidedly Irish-American • Strongly influenced by expectations of tourists	• Primary motivation was cultural • Pan-ethnic, symbolic, and resurgent ethnic identity • American-Indian • Host/guest designation • Powwow space – sacred versus commercial

In addition, both ISF and IFI created ethnic heritage displays that were influenced by organizations playing the role of middleman and by tourist expectations. The middleman, often represented by MWF, gauged the economic demand for ethnic festivals, and created expectations to the tourists through marketing campaigns. MWF also brokered space, allowing access to the neutral festival grounds to touree groups, managing the calendar of events, and establishing norms for the use of the designated tourist zone. The authority to negotiate the use of space and the display of ethnic heritage for Milwaukee's ethnic festivals was bounded and regulated. One of the ways the ethnic organizations were able to exert power over the display of ethnic identity was by coming together as a unified organization – United Festivals of Milwaukee – to negotiate for fair fees and regulations. United Festivals of Milwaukee became a group that acted and exerted influence as touree, middleman, and tourist.

The ability of ethnic groups to change roles and negotiate indicates that the power of ethnic display in the urban United States has shifted away from creation primarily to meet the expectations of the tourist, such as existed in early ethnic tourism practice.

Milwaukee's ethnic groups of the early 21st century have more power and control over the ethnic display than previous groups have had, yet they do not have complete autonomy. The cost and structure of ethnic festivals means that ethnic organizations must make concessions to receive continued funding. For example, the brilliant "host" and "guest" tribe designation of Indian Summer allowed a "host" tribe to create a heritage display that would be highlighted in the Indian Village. This put the financial responsibility on the host nation, but also limited the control of ISF over what would be on display. Similarly, IFI reduced festival publicity costs by having annual contests in conjunction with Milwaukee School of Art and Design to design the festival's poster. Early poster designs played heavily to Irish-American stereotypes, causing the festival organizers to hire a professional marketing firm for official poster design within the first 10 years (Hintz, 2006)

Still, touree groups must respond to the urban tourist expectations in urban ethnic tourism. Capricious urban tourists require new experiences, especially for repeat visits. IFI recognized the need to provide consistency and novelty of experience to every festival. It is through the continual concessions to expectations of tourists, middlemen, and individual tourees that we can observe the reinforcement of stereotyped ethnic identities. Festivals that embrace and reinterpret stereotypes, such as Irish Fest's acknowledgement of leprechaun joviality, reduce the opportunities for tourist disappointment. By doing so, ethnic festivals also reinforce ethnic "otherness," providing the tourist with a sense of the exotic. This technique works to the advantage of Irish Fest partly because the touree group has already been accepted and incorporated into the dominant American culture. It is unclear if the reinforcement of "otherness" works to the

advantage of American-Indians, who remain a disadvantaged group. However, it could be a factor in the overall popularity of the festival to non-Indian visitors.

Reinforcing ethnic otherness does seem to contribute to the strength and longevity of the ethnic communities. Ethnic festivals provide a place for individual hyphenated-Americans to meet others who share their ethnic heritage and to learn about their common history, reinforcing the need to practice and preserve ethnic heritage. The festivals also serve to inform and entertain the larger, non-ethnic community. Sociological literature suggests that positive interaction with individuals and other considered as "others" can lead to acculturation, assimilation, and greater understanding (Bungert, 2001; Smith, 2003). Ethnic tourism literature suggests that the interactions in tourism are limited to transactions and gaze, often leaving tourists with satisfaction of having their expectations met (Urry, 2002)

The case study shows that both ISF and IFI made deliberate choices about how their respective ethnic-American identities would be presented as cultural heritage events. It is less clear if the organizations made concessions and modifications in order to gain access to the festival grounds. The negotiations between the ethnic organizations, Milwaukee World Festival, and Mayor Maier's office are not documented. It is unclear how the organizations marketed their festivals. Yet, access was limited to ethnic groups whose perceived values systems closely aligned with the Milwaukee brand as the City of Festivals—not pretentious, family friendly, diverse, and a little bit hokey. Indian Summer and Irish Fest were championed by local political and social leaders early in their festival years. There was an expectation about what the festivals would bring to the summer lineup, and neither festival failed to meet expectations.

V. CONCLUSION: CREATING ETHNIC –AMERICAN HERITAGE FOR URBAN ETHNIC TOURISM

Milwaukee's ethnic festivals are part of the heritage of the city. They represent the tradition of using festivals to ascertain political rights, promote multiculturalism, hasten immigrant integration, and alleviate the effects of social stratification. Maier drew upon the tradition of festivals, launching what was supposed to be cultural heritage festivals in the tradition of symbolic ethnicity to promote the image of Milwaukee and boost the economy through tourism. The idea of a single, city sponsored festival that promotes the diverse cultural heritage of the city did not materialize under the Maier administration. Instead, individual ethnic groups at varying levels of assimilation held separate festivals, demonstrating resurgent, pan-ethnic, and symbolic ethnic identity as needed to gain access to the festivals grounds and create an ethnic heritage display for tourism.

It could be argued that Milwaukee's ethnic festivals are part of the heritage tourism industry and, therefore, do not represent ethnic tourism. Ethnic heritage festivals draw upon a common ethic history and recreate a heritage. Heritage festivals are place-based, highlighting the unifying and unique history of a city, town, or region. Milwaukee's ethnic festivals differ from heritage ethnic festivals in two important ways. First is the use of space. Milwaukee's ethnic festivals occur in a neutral place—the Henry Maier festival grounds regulated by the City of Milwaukee. The festival grounds disconnect the ethnic groups from places of ethnic heritage, leaving only the ethnic group itself as an object for display.

Second, heritage festivals represent traditions of a common history. Assuming that there is an American ethnic identity, the ethnic groups on display in Milwaukee's ethnic festivals represent living, active ethnic groups with histories of tradition and customs that differ significantly from the American ethnic identity. Hyphenated American groups were historically, and often continue to be, excluded from full participation in the American ethnic culture. The festivals in Milwaukee not only highlight the difference in historical experience, but become a gathering place for active ethnic minority populations to practice their traditions and evolve as a subculture.

Analyzing the negotiations through the lens of urban ethnic tourism provides a way to understand the choices ethnic groups made for representing their ethnic heritage. Urban ethnic tourism is a distinct form of tourism in which the tourist gazed is directed towards a culture that is separated and promoted for their constructed difference within the context of the urban environment. The manifestation of ethnic identity that emerges is influenced by the presence of the tourist and by the structure of the tourism industry bounded by the city. In Milwaukee, the differences in the ethnic festival experiences mirror the structural differences of the ethnic groups within the city. Irish Fest is put on by an assimilated ethnic group. Although Irish Americans have a history of discrimination, the group, as a whole, has been fully assimilated into the social and political fabric of Milwaukee. Organizers and participants of the festival demonstrate symbolic or affiliative ethnic identities, choosing to celebrate Irish heritage for a sense of unity, to carry on traditions, and to experience being part of an ethnic group without having to risk losing social status from an ascribed minority status (Jimenez, 2010).

In contrast, American Indians are considered a visible minority; their ethnic minority status is usually ascribed. American Indians have benefited from movements promoting multiculturalism, but they remain unassimilated, as attested by the continued legal battles between tribal nations and the U.S. government. Indian Summer Festival began as a demonstration of resurgent ethnic identity, asserting the right of local American Indian nations to celebrate their heritage on equal grounds with the other ethnic groups in the city. Over time, the festival shifted to displaying pan-ethnic ethnic identity, including the Aztec dancers and other representatives from the First Nations throughout North America. ISF has also grown as an organization, holding multiple powwows throughout the year, and partnering with local and national organizations to promote social justice for American Indian populations.

Milwaukee's ethnic festivals have created a tourist experience out of ethnic displays that have lasted a generation, becoming a tradition in their own right. By holding the festivals at the neutral festival grounds, urban tourists in Milwaukee have the opportunity to be exposed to many different ethnicities in a non-threatening space, regulated by the tourism industry. The experience undoubtedly increases affiliative ethnicity, and, a sense of unity, and genuine cultural appreciation for some tourists. Yet, urban ethnic tourism also creates expectations about what the touree/tourist encounter will produce. The touree group has to promote an ethnic display that is in line with the urban tourist expectations, including altering traditions to fit the time constraints of urban tourist culture (Foster, 2013). The case study of Milwaukee's ethnic festivals shows that the organizations representing the touree groups have had to change their displays of

ethnicity to continually attract tourists. With Irish Fest, this meant using iconography that traps the group in time, possibly reinforcing preconceived stereotypes of the ethnic group.

To be clear, I am in no way insinuating that the ethnic display at two or three day festivals encompasses the breadth or depth of an ethnic group's cultural heritage. Festivals also promote the rights of outside and minority groups to participate in local social, political, and economic spheres of influence. The right to the city encompasses more than access to physical space; it includes political representation, access to employment, and social justice. Taking a closer look at a surface expression, in this case, ethnic festivals, allows for the reflection of the social, political, and economic systems in which the event takes place.

The case study is merely a first step to understanding the impact of the ethnic festivals on race and ethnic relationships within the Milwaukee Metropolitan region. Further research is needed to understand if ethnic festivals change the attitudes of tourists towards the exotic other, including if the festivals contribute to delayed acculturation and assimilation. Also, Milwaukee is not the only city with ethnic festivals. Additional research is needed to verify that the model of urban ethnic tourism presented here is true in other cities.

Most importantly, additional research is needed to determine if urban ethnic tourism in Milwaukee contributes to the continued patterns of segregation in the metro area. To paraphrase Siegfried Kracauer (1995), if we want to understand a society, we have to look at its surface expressions (p.75). Urban ethnic tourism – the systematic process of developing and directing the tourist gaze towards a designated internal other –

is a reflection of the attitudes towards race and ethnicity that already exist within the city. Promoting an ethnic group and allowing them to use public space for display validates that groups right to the space, but may also delay assimilation or become an excuse for exclusion in the rest of the city.

Milwaukee, the city of festivals, remains a city struggling with racial tension. Studying through the lens of urban ethnic tourism provides one tool to understanding how ethnicity is represented and experienced in the city. The intentions of Milwaukee's festival culture were to unite the community through celebration and create an economic boom for the city. It remains to be seen if the social ramifications of ethnic tourism will outweigh the economic benefits.

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